the nineteenth century. Five had already been destroyed in native wars before our armed intervention in the disorders of Namaland. Their former territory (as of 1852) is indicated on the map by broken lines, for the borders of the remaining tribes (as of 1890) by unbroken lines (cf. map legend). At the moment it is not possible to foretell what the situation will be in regard to their numbers, their captains and their dwelling places, when the country is at peace again. At least the names of the tribes can be listed here: [172] a) Nãũna-o is the name the Hottentot gives to those tribes who have lived for generations in present-day Great Namaland. They are: [5] 68

1. The ǂAo-ǁain or ǃGo-ǁnun, who are sometimes called °ǂNa-tsain by their neighbors because of their great (tarse) fields, the Topnaar of the Boers.

2. The ǃKŭa-tsaĩ-b‖aĩn, shortened to ǃKŭa-ts(a)ĩb‖ĩn, the Franzmann Hottentots or also called the Simon Kopper people after their captain.

3. The ‖Ha-hoba-o or Veldschoendragers,

4. The ǃGa-mi‖ãũ-ǁa or Bondelswarts,

5. The ‖Kŭãũ-ǁgãũ-a or Zwartboois now settled in the southern bushveld outside of Namaland with a few scattered exceptions.

There are also others, who, although today they are scattered, still live in the memories of the natives as ancient tribal communities.

6. The ‖Kŭãũ-hen or the Red Nasie,

7. The ǃKŭa-ng‖ã-an or the Tsaibochen Hottentots of Keetmanshoop,

8. The ǀOgain or Groenlanders.

b) °Gã‖nin is a designation for those Hottentot tribes, who emigrated from the present Cape Colony to Great Namaland at the turn of the nineteenth century. The following, usually called Orlam, belong here:

9. The ǂA-mãĩn or Bethanie Hottentots,

10. The ǀHai-ǁkŭãũ-an or Berseba Hottentots,

11. The ǀKŭã-hain or Witboois,

12. The Gai-ǁkŭãũ-an or Amraal Hottentots of Gobabis.

In addition there is the tribe, extinct since 1889 which, under the leadership of Jonkers and Jan Afrikaner was the most feared of all the Orlam tribes,

13. ‖Aũ-ǂa‖a-en or the Afrikaaner.

These thirteen names will soon be all that is left of the old tribal divisions of the Hottentots. Before the destruction of the language, ideas and customs of this people, inevitable as its political destruction ensues, 14

everything that can at least be saved, at least for the ethnologist, should be brought to safety. I tried to carry out to the best of my ability this duty that belongs to every scientific traveler, insofar as my chief task, research in my own special field, permitted. I made it a rule to note down only those things I saw and experienced in direct, personal contact with the natives. Only in the chapter, "Midwifery" did I find it necessary to depend upon the experiences of a local white woman. Well aware that the experiences of an [178] individual can only be spotty, I still prefer to paint the picture of the Hottentots as it appeared to me and not to draw with another's pen, even when the gaps are large, because in an area that leaves so much to the interpretation of the individual, I would only trust myself an interpretation of those things which I myself have observed.

G. Fritsch (68) has made a compilation of the most worthwhile ethno-

68. G. Fritsch. Die Eingeborenen Südafrikas, ethnographisch und anatomisch beschrieben, mit Atlas. Breslau. 1872.

logical material that was available up to 1872. But since the work of Theophilus Hahn. (66) published in 1867, there have been no coherent

66. Th. Hahn. Die Nama-Hottentotten. Ein Beitrag zur südafrikanischen Ethnographie (Globus, vol. XII. 1867).

original investigations of the folk life of the Hottentots. I will merely mention Ratzel's(70) presentation here. It cannot be my job to discuss the

70. Fr. Ratzel. Völkerkunde. 2nd ed., 1894.

problems of the comparative ethnology of the South African peoples from the viewpoint of the specialized literature. I shall only report my own observations, developed independently, often merely stated as facts for more expert people to evaluate.

In regard to the Hottentot script inserted in the text, refer to what is said in chapter V, A, about the language.

I was always spurred to further research by seeing that where, on the basis of older reports, it was least expected, the old individuality of the people in respect to the family and the individual, had often remained

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The first contact of the Hottentots with the Bergdamaras goes beyond any time from which we have historical dates. Pieter Brand, the companion of the explorer Willem van Reenen (14), who led an expedition in

14. G. M'Call Theal, History of South Africa, Vol. I - VI, London, 1888-1902.

September 1791 into Great Namaland, found the language of the Hottentots in use among the Bergdamaras. Their own mother tongue seems to have been forgotten at that time as it is today. Although the Bergdamaras have obtained their freedom under the German protectorate and have been freed from the yoke of the Hereros as well as from that of the Hottentots, they have often remained in voluntary dependency as household servants as the Buhmen have.

Although generally known as good-natured and docile and therefore treasured by the whites, the derogatory name given the Bergdamaras by his oppressors has remained. The Hottentot calls the Bergdamaras ǂau-daman, i.e. shit Kaffirs." I also heard them called ǂhau/kxoĩn, i.e. (according to the claim of the Hottentots themselves) "Manure people."* A friendly

*Derived from ǂhau/b = manure. Krönlein (57) [114]

57. J. G. Kroenlein, wortschatz der Khoi-Khoin, Berlin, 1889.

does not know this word and derives the above designation, which, according to him, the Bergdamaras have given to themselves, from the word for "to be right." But to my ear it is not ǂhau/ but sounds like ǂhau-, the two vowels pronounced separately and with a rising (one third) accent. I can only place my opinion beside Kroenlein's as the actual result of my findings without deciding which is better. Schinz (50) mistakenly writes !haukhoin and his

50. H. Schinz, Deutsch-Südwestafrika. Forschungreisen (1884-1887) durch die deutschen Schutzgebiete etc. Oldenburg and Leipzig, 1891.

typesetter muddled the click even more in the index.

shown whether the fragments published by Lichtenstein, Burchell and Wuras of the !Kora dialect, whether the parts of an eastern dialect which Sparrmann, Thunberg and Barrow have heard, and whether the notations of Herbert, Ten Rhine and Witsen of the dialect of the Capeland Hottentots of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries could be so arranged that they would at least give us a vague picture of the lost languages. The tribes of Great Namaland now form linguistically unified group with the fugitives from the south. Their language is that of the old Namaa or Namaqua as older authors write using the former ending of the masculine plural. 197

The language of the Hottentots was the greatest hindrance during the first six months of my journey in getting closer to the spiritual life of the people. In the second and third year it was the most fertile source of my studies. Where war troubles or the unfavorable time of year stopped my zoological studies, I turned to the study of the language. A small work by Theophilus Hahn (78), a concise presentation of the 114

78. Th. Hahn, Die Sprache der Nama, Leipzig, 1870.

language that contains many errors by A. Seidel (79) and especially

79. A. Seidel, Praktische Grammatiken der Hauptsprachen Deutsch-Südwestafrikas, Wien, Pest, Leipzig, (ohne Jahreszahl).

Kroenleins Wortschatz (57) gave me a first start and later a basis for

57. J. G. Kroenlein, Wortschatz der Khoi-Khoin, Berlin, 1889.

testing my own results against older ones.

The Hottentot words in the text all stem from the natives. If I have avoided all the information of the whites who know the language, it is not because I underestimated the help that I could have received here, but because I wished to drink exclusively from the source. Therefore I have also avoided natives who could read and write, because they looked at their own language through the glasses of the white man who first gave written signs to these sounds, partly in close connection with the Dutch

language. I was interested in the spoken word of the linguistically pure Hottentot. The difficulties of making oneself understood with illiterates had the advantage that they concentrate all their attention on listening and when I was attempting to repeat what I had heard in a phonetically correct manner they demanded a much stricter accounting than would have been required in any agreement on paper on the basis of conventional signs. In this way I first established the native names for the animals [341] and then for the plants which I gathered. From these studies came other linguistic stimulations, in the way that a simple example will illustrate. One Hottentot, whom I asked if he had ever seen the large, South African ant-eater, the aardvark, which animal is very difficult to shoot, promised, to my great amazement to bring me one that same evening. He brought a root, because I had not pronounced the Hottentot term for this animal with the accent on the last syllable and with a rising word-tone (/kxubu·s), but with the accent on the first syllable and with a falling word-tone (/kxu· bus). Such misunderstandings occurred frequently in the course of the first year. They showed me again and again the necessity of never leaving out of consideration the phonetic side of the language and of marking every new word immediately with diacritical signs, since I might have to differentiate it later from a similar sounding one.

The counter check, whether I had used enough signs to differentiate similarly sounding words and had chosen the right ones, was simple. After several days I would pronounce the words I wished to test to a native, reproducing them exactly from the chosen signs and then I saw at once whether he had understood the meaning clearly or not in the sense that the written method wished to convey. I then compared the results of this method with the customary way of writing it and soon came to the conviction that there were not sufficient signs in use to reproduce the sound relationships of the Nama language as was necessary from the phonetic viewpoint and as was desirable in the interest of a clear differentiation of similarly sounding words.

In the stories that follow later I shall give examples of morphology and syntax of the Nama language. I will restrict myself here to giving the results of my investigations of phonology.

1. The Clicks

Clicks are the most noticeable sounds in the Nama language, and learning to differentiate and pronounce them belongs to the first and

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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CHAPTER IX

Social Organization

The only Hottentot people whose social organization is at all well known are the Naman of South-West Africa, of whom a special study from this point of view has been made by Mrs. A. W. Hoernlé. The valuable description given by her[1] is supplemented in several respects by the observations of other writers,[2] so that it is possible to arrive at a fairly clear conception of the social structure of this division. The original organization of the other Hottentot peoples has long since been totally obliterated, and the information bearing upon it is too fragmentary to provide much material for discussion. As far as can be gathered, however, they appear to have had essentially the same system of social grouping as the Naman.

In the case of the latter also the old tribal system has been almost wholly destroyed. At the present time some of their tribes are already extinct, i.e. the tribal unity has been completely broken down, although one may still come across individuals claiming to belong to one particular tribe or another. Most of the Naman, in fact, are now scattered all over South-West Africa in the service of Europeans, and have no longer any tribal allegiance, for it was the deliberate policy of the German government to break up the tribes. But even where a small remnant of the people still hold together under the leadership of a man whom they regard as headman or chief, much of the old system of grouping has ceased to exist. The following analysis, therefore, relates very largely to conditions of the past.

The Tribe

The nomadic pastoral life of the Naman and the unsuitable climatic conditions under which they dwell have resulted in their distribution over the country in small scattered communities. Although it appears from the traditions of the people that they all originally belonged to

[1] "The Social Organization of the Nama Hottentots," *Amer. Anthrop.*, xxvii (1925), 1–24. Except where otherwise stated, this is the principal authority for the facts recorded below.

[2] Olpp, *Angra Pequena*, 23 ff.; Kohler, "Das Recht der Hottentotten," *Z. verg. Rechtswiss.*, xv (1902), 337–60; Wandres, "Die Khoi-Khoin oder Nama," in Steinmetz's *Rechtsverhältnisse von eingeborenen Völkern*, 1903, pp. 313–25; *idem*, "Ueber das Recht der Naman," *Z. Kol-Pol.*, xi (1909), 657–86.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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the sacramental meal being the central feature. The other discrepancies between the two versions it is more charitable to ascribe to differences in tribal custom. The point cannot be definitely settled, since no other first-hand observers appear to have recorded the ceremony with sufficient wealth of detail to provide material for comparison.

Even the descriptions given above seem inadequate when considered in the light of Mrs. Hoernlé's general analysis of the Hottentot "transition rites". That these hunting ceremonies fall into this category is evident from the holding of the sacramental meal, the usages relating to the fire and to the meat, the scarification and the smearing of the face recorded by Wikar, as well as the seclusion mentioned by Kolb. Now that hunting of this description has ceased to be possible, owing largely to the extermination of most of the big game, the rites seem completely to have lapsed, and it is hardly likely that further information about them can still be obtained. A casual remark by Mrs. Hoernlé implies that they really constituted the boys' puberty ceremony. "I found it extremely difficult," she says,[1] "to get trustworthy information about the puberty ceremonies of the boys, which seem completely to have lapsed since big game hunting ceased to be possible, and with it the necessary test of manly prowess which it offered." It will be remembered, however, from the descriptions given above of the boys' puberty ceremony that none of the authorities there quoted makes any mention of hunting; Wikar explicitly separates the two ceremonies in his general sketch of the occasions on which the sacramental meal is held, as does Mrs. Hoernlé herself in a similar analysis[2]; and so too Kolb describes them in different contexts, and even, as we have seen, speaks as if the hunting rites were usually undergone by married men only. On the evidence at present available, therefore, there seems no good reason for connecting the two.

Industries and Trade

Industries

Few aspects of Hottentot life have been recorded in less detail than the economic activities directed towards the production of objects of use and trade. The great majority of the writers merely enumerate and describe the various implements and utensils noticed

[1] "The Conception of Sin among the Hottentots," 70.
[2] Wikar, op. cit., 94; Hoernlé, op. cit., 68.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Cape Hottentots

by them, although the technological processes involved are dealt with to some extent by Kolb and more fully still by Schultze. But the social side of the industries—forms of work, economic motives, division of labour, and so on—has received hardly any attention at all. It is difficult therefore to give an adequate picture of the industrial activities of the Hottentots. This difficulty is increased by the fact that ever since contact with Europeans was established there has been a gradual substitution of European goods for native products, until at the present time the productive work of the Hottentots, where it is still carried on, has to a considerable extent acquired a new character.

The main economic unit in Hottentot life, as far as one can judge, is the family. Each family not only has its own herds and flocks, thus providing for the greater part of its subsistence, but in a large degree also manufactures the objects required for its domestic purposes. The construction of the huts, the making of whose mats is still an important native craft, has already been described. The other forms of industry may be grouped under the main heads of skin-dressing, netting, pottery, wood-carving, stone- and metal-work.

Before the Europeans came into the country, the skins of domestic animals and game provided the sole material for the clothing of the Hottentots, as well as for a number of other objects. Nowadays, except perhaps in a few remote places, clothing is almost entirely of European pattern and material, but skins are still used for other purposes. Among the Cape Hottentots, it would appear from Kolb's account,[1] the preparation of skins was mainly the work of the men. Skins used for making clothing, karosses, etc., were dressed by the craftsman repeatedly rubbing into the fleshy side as much fat as possible, and then beating them hard with the kirri, until they became quite tough and smooth; or they were alternately rubbed with cowdung and fat, and then carefully dried in the sun. They were then sewn together with sinews, generally taken from the back of an ox, the pointed leg-bone of a bird being used as an awl. Ox hides were either used for lining the hut, or cut into thongs with which objects were bound on the backs of pack-oxen. To loosen the hair the fresh skin was sprinkled with ashes and water, then rolled up and exposed for a day or two to the heat of the sun, and after depilation it was rendered supple by being rubbed in with fat. Finally, if required for thongs, it was pegged out on the ground and cut into long strips of about the same width by means of a sharp iron blade.

[1] Op. cit., 110–13.

3: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913) 1918 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

CERTAIN RITES OF TRANSITION AND THE CONCEPTION OF ǃNAU AMONG THE HOTTENTOTS[1]

A. W. Hoernlé

114 101 The following notes have been put together from the materials which I collected during the years 1912 and 1913 on two expeditions made among three different tribes of Hottentots. In 1912 I visited the remnants of certain tribes of the Little Namaqua, among whom some fugitives from the tribe of ǃGamǂnūn or Bondelzwaarts of German South West Africa were living. It was a very scattered community on the southern bank of the Orange River, about fifty miles inland from its mouth, and in British territory.

The following year I spent among the ǂĂunin or Topnaars of Walfish Bay and among the /Hei /Khauan, who live now in the territory round Berseba in German South West Africa. This latter tribe crossed the Orange River in the beginning of the 19th century, after its members had absorbed a great deal from the Dutch among whom they had lived, and with whom there had been a considerable amount of intermixture. As a result of [177] the mixed blood and the adoption of many Dutch ways, the pure Hottentot customs and beliefs had been considerably modified among them. They are an offshoot from the Cauquas, who in the time of Simon Van der Stel (17th century) lived in the present Worcester district of the Cape Colony in the valleys of the Breede River,[2] and belong therefore to the so-called Colonial Hottentots, not to any branch of the Namaqua people with [796] whom the other tribes I visited must be classed. It is, therefore, extremely interesting to find that all four of the transition rites (*rites de passage*) which I am about to describe in this paper are practised by them with but slight variations. Whether they brought these customs with them, or whether they adopted them from the tribes with which they came in contact when they crossed the Orange River in their progress northwards, it is impossible to say. The ǂĂunin, though but a miserable remnant of what was never,

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[1] In this paper I have used, as far as possible, the notation employed by J. G. Krönlein, Wortschatz der Khoi-Khoin, Berlin, 1889. /, indicates the dental click; ǂ the palatal; ! the cerebral; // the lateral. χ indicates a guttural ch; the mark ¯ over a vowel indicates that it is long; ˜ indicates that it is nasalised. A short vowel has no special sign; ` represents the low tone of the vowel; ´ the middle tone; ˚ the high one. The sign . under a vowel indicates that it is very short; while ¨ indicates that the vowel is to be separately pronounced.

[2] Cf. T. Hahn, Tsuni-//Goam, London, 1881, p. 19.

[p. 65]

3: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913) 1918 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

perhaps, one of the largest tribes, is probably the one most satisfactory to study, for these people have been marooned for two or three centuries among the sand dunes which form their present home, attracted thither by the famous !náras melon which provides them with food for many months in the year. I travelled in the country five years after the end of the German-Hottentot wars, during which great numbers of the older people perished, and the whole tribal system of the Hottentots received its death blow.

The Hottentots are now a passing people, who have practically given up the struggle of keeping alive their own traditions. What vitality is left is spent in the absorption of the ways of the incoming Europeans. One has, therefore, to be content with what remnants of their former customs and beliefs one can still gather from them. It was only by reviving long forgotten memories among the oldest of the men and women that I could gather up many of the customs of the past. One of my best informers, a woman, reproached me bitterly for encouraging her to think of things she had spent half her life in trying to forget: "You have made me live the old life once more; soon you will be going, and what shall I do then?"

The four transition rites which I shall describe are, however, practised even now among the people I visited, though sometimes in a simplified form owing to the great poverty which prevails. Though I have obtained details from many informants, the main contribution is that of four persons, two men and two women. It is to one of the women that I am most indebted. Hannah[3] !Amatis was, before she married among the ǂĂunin, a member of the //Khau-ǂGôan tribe, where she learnt all she knew from her grandfather. The latter was headman of his tribe, and as she was his favorite, and a very clever girl, he told her all the old lore of his tribe. She became my closest friend among the Hottentots, and to her I owe the framework of my information. She is now a woman well over 60 years of age. Louisa !Kabes is a somewhat younger woman, less intelligent, but very inquisitive. As a girl she used to hide where old and important people were talking, thinking that such as she were far away. She married into the family of the old Captain Piet //Eibib of Walfish Bay, who was long subsidized by the Cape Government, and who was a most intelligent old man. He died some eight years before I came among the people, well over eighty years of age. Gottlief //Ămib was the oldest of my informers, and both he and his brothers had been throughout their lives, not only because of their family connections, but because of their intelligence, the headmen of the captain of the Topnaars. Gottlief was a splendid informer and an admirable character, but he was becoming frail, and his memory was no longer at its best. He often said he was no use, and wished I might have clearer information on what were for him exceedingly weighty

[3] Most Hottentots have now a "Christian" name as well as a native one.

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

FOREWORD.

114 Olfert Dapper, the son of Gerrit Gerritsz. Dapper and his wife Trijntje Heeres, was born in Amsterdam in 1636. Of his private life very little appears to be known.* The available records show that he registered as a medical student at the University of Utrecht in 1658, but there can be little doubt that he soon abandoned his studies and took to writing. The degree of M.D. which adorns the title pages of his books seems to have been conferred upon himself by his own authority; there is at any rate no record of his graduation, nor of his having ever practised medicine. All his energies must have been devoted to reading and writing, for in his comparatively short lifetime (he died in 1689) he produced a number of large and important works. His first book, an historical description of Amsterdam (1663), said to be far superior to anything previously done on the same subject, was followed by a Dutch translation of Herodotus (1665). From now on he seems to have applied himself with indefatigable zeal to learning all that he could about foreign lands. As a result of his studies he composed the great series of geographical works upon which rests his fame. The first to appear was a description of Africa (1668), which met with so favourable a reception that henceforth he devoted himself entirely to geographical writing. In 1670 appeared an account of the Dutch East India Company's activities in the Far East, followed by an exhaustive study of Asia (three parts, 1677-1680), and finally by several works on the Near East.

Dapper's *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge der Afrikaensche Gewesten*, dealing as it does at considerable length with the topography, botany, zoology and ethnography of the whole continent and its adjacent islands, was long regarded as one of the most authoritative early accounts of Africa. For many years after its first publication it was freely quoted, translated and plagiarized. Even so well known an authority on early Cape affairs as Abraham Bogaert, who visited the settlement six times, has in the chapter he devotes to the Hottentots in his *Historische Reizen door d' oostersche Deelen van Asia* (1711) drawn practically all his information and many of his actual sentences from the pages of Dapper. And yet, like all Dapper's other geographical works, the account of Africa was essentially a compilation.

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*The biographical details here given are based upon the short sketches of Dapper in the *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biographische Woordenboek*, vol. 7, and Michaud's *Biographie Universelle*.

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He does not appear to have ever left Holland to see with his own eyes any of the countries he describes. For his material he relied solely on printed sources and on memoranda specially prepared for him. That this circumstance does not guarantee the accuracy of his work is obvious. His great merit, however, lies in the fact that he ranged very widely in search of information, and that he had a shrewd eye for relevant detail. His work was comprehensive and painstaking, and as the first great compendium of modern knowledge about Africa it became deservedly famous.

The pages dealing with the Cape and the Hottentots are based to some extent upon the anonymous *Klare ende Korte Besgryvinge van het land aan Cabo de Bona Esperanca* (Amsterdam, 1652), itself a compilation, which he pillages freely enough when it suits his purpose. He also used very sparingly the records of the first Dutch voyage to the East Indies (1595). The bulk of his information, however, is not to be found in any contemporary published account. He says himself in the foreword to his book that most of what he relates, especially about the tribal divisions, manners and customs of the Hottentots, is derived from manuscript accounts sent to Holland by a certain "diligent observer" at the Cape, and that he has added only a little from printed sources. In his text, too, he refers several times to information sent over by men on the spot.

Theal, in a brief notice of Dapper's book,* points out with justice that the pages dealing with the Cape seem to have been prepared by someone who was not there at the commencement of the occupation, but who had been in the settlement long enough to know all about it, and who was obviously studying the customs, manners and language of the Hottentots. He goes on to suggest that Dapper's unnamed correspondent was probably George Frederick Wreede. There is much to be said in favour of this attribution.

Wreede was a runaway German student who enlisted in the service of the Dutch East India Company, and came to the Cape in 1659.** Here he devoted himself to a study of the Hottentots. In a few years he had acquired a thorough knowledge of their language, and was often employed as an official interpreter and messenger to the Hottentot chiefs. By November, 1663, he had compiled a vocabulary of Hottentot words with their Dutch equivalents, which the commander of the Cape forwarded to the

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History and Ethnography of S. Africa before 1795, iii, 276.

**On his life and career cf. Theal, *op. cit*, ii, 139-141, 176-177; Godée-Molsbergen, *Reizen in Zuid-Afrika*, i, 215-6.

Directors of the Company in Holland, with the request that it might be printed and some copies sent back to the settlement, where it would be useful. The Directors, though more anxious that the Hottentots should learn Dutch than that the settlers should become familiar with the native language, promised to have the work printed; but the promise never seems to have been carried out.* The manuscripts of the vocabulary are no longer preserved in the Archives of either Holland or the Cape. It is generally believed that they were lent to the historian Ludolf and never recovered, for in a biography written of him by Christian Junker and published in 1710 there is a long Dutch-Hottentot-Latin vocabulary whose source is not mentioned, but which is now universally attributed to Wreede.** The latter was rewarded for his studies with a small grant of money, and offered promotion by the Directors to any branch of the Cape service that he wished to select. He was ultimately appointed commander of Mauritius, where, after some vicissitudes of fortune, he met his death by drowning in 1672.

Wreede therefore seems to have been the most likely person at the Cape to supply Dapper with information about the Hottentots. There is also a certain amount of internal evidence to suggest that the account upon which Dapper drew was written about the time that Wreede's vocabulary was compiled, i.e. 1662-1663. Thus of the old chief Gogosoa he says, "In 1662 he was, according to the accounts of men already there, quite a hundred years old"; he speaks in the present tense of Herry, who died in 1663, and of the Chainouqua chief Soeswa, who died in 1664; he says (erroneously) that the Kochoqua chief Oedasoa died in 1661, but does not name his successor; he gives the exact dates of several events occurring between 1659 and 1662, but not later; and so on. Whether Dapper was in direct communication with Wreede cannot be ascertained; it is equally probable that he may have obtained the latter's account of the Hottentots through the famous Amsterdam burgomaster Nicolas Witsen, to whom many of his books are dedicated, and from whom, incidentally, Ludolf is supposed to have received the loan of Wreede's Hottentot vocabulary.

Dapper's informant certainly managed to ascertain a good deal more about the Hottentots than had previously been known. His long list of tribes, with the careful description of their known habitations and rulers, is the

*The relevant official correspondence is reprinted in Moodie, *The Record*, pp. 271-79.

**This vocabulary is reprinted by Godée-Molsbergen, op. cit., 215-24.

114 first ever printed, the more authoritative list compiled by van Riebeeck being of course preserved as manuscript in the Archives and not published for more than two hundred 127 years. The discrepancies between the two lists seem to show clearly enough that neither Dapper himself nor his informant had access to the official records. His general account of Hottentot life is far more comprehensive than any of its predecessors, and reveals an intimate first-hand acquaintance with the people; while much of the information, especially in connexion with religion, legal procedure and marriage customs, is completely new. It deserves special praise for the way in which, passing lightly over customs simply quaint and curious, it discusses in detail the ordinary, daily life of the people, a feature which modern ethnographers too are now beginning to emphasize as of outstanding importance. With all its inaccuracies (and these are most marked in references to historical occurrences), Dapper's work may justly be regarded as containing the first really serviceable account of the Hottentots.

114 The passages here reprinted from his pages on the Cape are those referring directly to the Hottentots; his description of the country, its climate, botanical and zoological resources have been omitted as irrelevant to the scope of this volume. The text followed is that of the second edition (1676, Tweede Deel, pp. 251-260, 263, 268-278), which, except that misprints have been corrected and several other slight errors rectified, is substantially the same as that of the first edition (1668, pp. 626-636, 643-653). The translation is the first complete one ever made into English. John Ogilby's *Africa* (London, 1670) was based largely upon Dapper's work, and its information relating to the Hottentots (pp. 576-583, 589-595) was all taken from the latter; but a good deal had been omitted, and much of what remains had been paraphrased. I have made no attempt to reproduce Dapper's rather laborious style or employ any corresponding archaisms. Mr I. W. van der Merwe, M.A., Lecturer in Nederlands and Afrikaans at the University of Cape Town, was kind enough to read through my translation and help me over some puzzling passages, but for the final version here printed I must assume all responsibility. I have occasionally taken the liberty of modernizing Dapper's punctuation, which in the original is apt to be confusing; and have used most (but not all) of his marginal notes as paragraph headings.

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9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

FOREWORD.

● 1/4 Ten Rhyne's account of the Hottentots, unlike that of Dapper[1] is the product of personal acquaintance with the people. Although typical in some respects of the many descriptions compiled by transitory visitors to the Cape, it is well above the average in regard to the value and amount of information it contains. He nowhere states explicitly how long he was at the Cape, but it appears from the official records that the ship on which he must have arrived, the *Ternaten*, reached Table Bay on October 15, 1673, from Amsterdam, and departed for the East on November 10, after a stay of nearly four weeks. During this time he seems to have inquired fairly industriously into the natural resources of the country and the manners of its native inhabitants; and although his primary interest was obviously botanical, he also managed to learn a good deal about the Hottentots. It is evident from what he himself says that his information regarding the latter was obtained from all the available sources, his own observations, discussions with local European residents, and conversations with such Hottentots as could understand Dutch, of whom he names especially the famous Eva.

When stripped of its verbiage and classical allusions, his account of the Hottentots can by no means be regarded as detailed. Nevertheless his remarks on their mode of life, warfare, cattle trade and medical practices are particularly valuable additions to the scanty information previously published on these topics, and he also has some useful observations on their physical peculiarities and bodily mutilations. His list of tribes, too, is of considerable importance. It shows how within twenty years from the foundation of the settlement the groups in its immediate vicinity had degenerated into mere hangers-on and followers of the Dutch, how tribal distinctions were being lost and individual leaders coming into prominence, and how only the more remote tribes still retained their original character. It is significant too that he gives pride of place to the Hesequa, then valued as the principal market from which cattle could still be bartered in large quantities. On the other hand he says little that is new about Hottentot clothing, dwellings, food and social customs generally; his comments on their religion and system of government are distinctly weak; and occasionally he indulges in some rather fantastic statements suggesting a lack of critical ability or at least a naive credulity.

[R81]

[1] [see 8: DApper, this File. - Analyst]

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114 Of the man himself but little appears to be known.* He was born in Deventer about 1640, and studied at Leyden under the celebrated Dubois de la Boë. After practising in Holland for a while, he was appointed physician to the Dutch East India Company's settlement in Java; and it was on his way there in 1673 that he passed through the Cape. In Java he worked hard at his professional duties, also making a voyage to Japan, where he successfully treated the emperor for a grave illness. But he devoted himself especially to studies in natural history, above all botany, collecting numerous specimens of the exotic Eastern plants which he sent back to Holland. Of his later career hardly anything can be ascertained, not even the date of his death, but it appears from the title page of his book on the Hottentots that he was a member of the East India Company's Council of Justice. The British Museum Catalogue lists six works from his pen, all, save that on the Hottentots, dealing with medical and botanical subjects. A description of the plant collections he made at Saldanha Bay and the Cape in 1673, together with some other botanical observations of his, can be found in *Plantarum Exoticarum Centuria Prima*, published by the botanist Breyn in Danzig, 1678.

TRANSLATOR'S NOTE.

The Latin text of the present edition is reprinted exactly from a copy of the small octavo volume printed at Schaffhausen in 1686 and now in possession of the South African Public Library, Cape Town.

This 1686 edition was made from a MS roll and was provided with corrections and annotations by the editor. It is not easy to say what the annotations provided by the editor were, as most of the footnotes seem to belong to Ten Rhyne himself; and the text is still in need of correction. In my translation I have silently ignored errors of punctuation. Slight verbal errors have been corrected in footnotes. In the few places where I suspect a deeper corruption I have not suggested any emendation. The grammar may be bad, but the sense is clear enough, and a critical discussion of the text seems uncalled for.

The translation is not the first that has been made in English. Within twenty years of the publication of the original an anonymous version was printed in England (*A Collection of Voyages and Travels, etc.*, printed by H.C. for Awnsham and John Churchill at the Black Swan in

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*The few details here given are drawn from the biographical sketch in Michaud's *Biographie Universelle*.

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Pater-noster-Row, London, 1704; vol. iv, pp. 829-45). This version contains a few happy phrases, some of which I have been glad to borrow. It is, for instance, to the anonymous translator that we owe the description of Aeva as "a civil, modest body, of rational discourse." But his is on the whole a poor version, full of mistakes and omissions, quite unfit to be reprinted.

As is characteristic of the time, the Latin of Ten Rhyne is somewhat laboured and affected, often conveying simple information in a pedantic and allusive fashion. But the style is, nevertheless, graceful and sensitive, and the translator feels challenged to render not merely the matter but the manner of the original. However little Ten Rhyne succeeded in learning about the Cape in his brief stay, he was alert and interested and his narrative has freshness and charm.

On the scientific value of the information he has to give it is not for me to pronounce. But I have been at pains to set forth in the footnotes his naive dependence on his classical models for many eloquent sentences supposed to be descriptive of the Hottentots. The curious may find some instruction and amusement here. It is always worth while to impair the authority of print.

A point of general scientific interest in the present work is the attack on Descartes. It is worth noting in this connection that Ten Rhyne had imbibed his hostility to the *à priori* method of interpreting natural philosophy from an early work of Greek science that has attracted much attention in modern times. In 1669 and again in 1672 Ten Rhyne published discussions on the Hippocratic tract On Ancient Medicine.

B.F.

FOREWORD.

● 114 The manuscript account of the Cape and its native peoples, the original text of which is here for the first time printed, was purchased at the sale of the Sunderland library in 1882 by the late Mr. C. A. Fairbridge, who subsequently presented it to the South African Public Library, Cape Town, where it now is. A small quarto volume of 120 pages, neatly bound in vellum, it is evidently the copy of a letter written to an (unnamed) clergyman in Holland, and is dated 1695. How it got into the Sunderland library is not known.

Its author, Johannes Gulielmus de Grevenbroek (as he usually signs himself), was born in Holland about 1644. Of his early life the only facts he reveals are that he visited Italy in 1673, and had also been to Madrid. There is, however, good reason to believe that he was employed at home for some time as a clerical assistant in the Rotterdam Chamber of the Dutch East India Company. In June 1684 he sailed to the Cape in the Company's service, and in October, soon after his arrival, he was promoted to be Secretary of the local Council of Policy. He seems to have accompanied the Commissioner Ryklof van Goens to India almost immediately afterwards, and did not take up his regular duties until after his return (1686). A large number of the official records for the next few years have preserved for us his beautifully clear handwriting and decorative signature. He served as Secretary until June, 1694, when he resigned voluntarily, and went to live at Stellenbosch as a free burgher. Adam Tas, in his famous Diary (1705-6), on several occasions mentions Grevenbroek, then an elder of the Church, but does not tell us much about him. It is evident, though, from stray remarks in this book, that Grevenbroek was on the whole sympathetic with the movement of the discontented farmers against Governor Adriaan van der Stel, although his name is not attached to their memorandum of complaints addressed to the Chamber of Seventeen.

His will, signed at Welmoed, Eerste River, on February 3, 1714, when in his seventieth year, shows him to have been a careful man of business and a grateful friend. Apparently he never married, for there is no reference in it to wife or family. The bulk of his estate, after various legacies to friends and acquaintances in both Holland and the Cape, is left to a certain Isak Schepers. The date of

his death is not known, but it must have occured some time before 1726, when his will was filed with the Cape Orphan Chamber (*Cape Archives O.C. 4 No. 14*). In it he directed that his body should be buried not in church or churchyard, but in the courtyard of the house where he died; and he chose as his own epitaph the words: "Hic exspectat resurrectionem J. G. de Grevenbroek C. F."

That Grevenbroek had been engaged in compiling an account of the Cape and the Hottentots seems to have been fairly well known during his lifetime. The earliest reference to his work appears in Peter Kolb's *Caput Bonae Spei Hodiernum* (Nürnberg, 1719), the most detailed and serviceable treatise we have on the early Cape Hottentots. In discussing the Hottentot customs relating to the Mantis, Kolb says: "For long I did not know what to call this insect, as I had never seen it, nor could I believe that they worshipped such an insignificant creature, although I had occasionally heard this stated. At last Mr. Johann Wilhelm de Grevenbroek, a man of remarkable industry, understanding and knowledge, who after serving several renowned ambassadors had finally come here as Political Secretary to the Illustrious Company, taught me from the notes, which he had likewise made concerning the Hottentots during his residence here, that this insect was really a sort of beetle" (p. 416). There is no other mention of Grevenbroek in the whole of Kolb's work.

Valentyn's *Beschryvinge van de Kaap der Goede Hoope* (Amsterdam, 1726) tells us more about these "notes" of Grevenbroek's. Writing of the Hottentots, Valentyn says: "I have seen a Latin treatise by Mr. Secretary Grevenbroek, who had taken the trouble to write an elaborate and able account not only of their manners and customs, but also of their language; this treatise he allowed me to read in Stellenbosch in 1705" (p. 106). He adds that from it he learned about the dialectical differences of the local native languages as illustrated by the forms of the numerals; and also extracted a small Latin-Hottentot-Dutch vocabulary, which he then prints (pp. 106-8).

There is no further mention of Grevenbroek's work until 1763, when in his posthumous *Journal historique du Voyage fait au Cap de Bonne-Espérance* the Abbé de la Caille, who was at the Cape from 1751 to 1753, violently attacked Kolb as unreliable and inaccurate, and went on to assert that everything Kolb had written about the Hottentots was derived from Grevenbroek. "M. Grevenbroek, . . . an extraordinary man," says de la Caille, "had made some researches into the manners and customs of the Hottentots. After his death his papers were sent to Kolb, who pieced them together without any skill or judgement. This I was

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told by the most intelligent local residents, especially the Governor, M. Grand-Pré and M. Dessin" (pp. 156-57). And again: "All that Kolb says in the rest of his book [i.e. concerning the Hottentots] is taken from the memoirs of a certain Grevenbroek, Secretary of the Council at the Cape, who had put into writing what the Hottentots whom he had seen had replied to his questions" (p. 322).

The story of this alleged plagiarism is told at greater length by de la Caille's editor. Kolb, it is well known, had been sent to the Cape in 1705 to make astronomical observations, but by his incompetence soon lost the favour of his patrons. He lived for a while without any employment, and was then installed as Secretary to the Landdrost of Stellenbosch; but after a couple of years he was superseded, and returned to Germany in 1713. "Kolb's mission being almost over," says de la Caille's editor, "he discovered that during his stay at the Cape he had done nothing but drink and smoke. Not knowing what to report in Europe or to show as the fruits of his expedition, he applied to some residents of the Cape, who took advantage of the occasion to serve their own ends as well as his. These men had tried several times, always without success, to convey to Holland their complaints against the maladministration of the Colony. The memoirs on this subject which they had sent to the Estates-General in Holland had all been intercepted, and the Colony continued to groan beneath its oppression. They now conceived the idea of dictating to Kolb a description of the Cape; and in order to make it seem more interesting they collected all the current popular beliefs and palmed them off on to Kolb, who did not know the country, together with numerous marvellous details derived from their imagination. These oracles of Kolb's also lifted much of the matter in Grevenbroek's compilation, to which reference has already been made; nor did they ignore themselves in the course of the work, into which they inserted their observations on the government of the Cape, exposing all its iniquities and suggesting the means of remedy. These revelations, coming from a stranger, could be published without compromising anyone. Kolb, delighted at the service thus rendered to him, left the Cape with his work. He caused it to be printed in Holland, *as a translation from the German*. The book was read with astonishing avidity, and the edition soon sold out. The Dutch Government, roused by what was said in it concerning the state of affairs at the Cape, made inquiries which confirmed Kolb's report. The principal officers of the settlement were recalled, and proceedings taken against them on their return," etc. (pp. 317-19).

M

114 A somewhat similar story is told in greater detail by Mentzel in his *Beschreibung des Vorgebirges der Guten Hoffnung* (Glogau, 1785-7). After discussing Kolb's career at the Cape, he goes on to say: "We can note that Kolbe had very little time during his short period of office as Interim Secretary [at Stellenbosch] to travel over the country and to make topographical observations. He had certainly gathered much information and heard many stories from local inhabitants during his eight years' residence at the Cape, but without investigating whether these were authentic or legendary. Unexpectedly, Kolbe came into possession of a store of remarkable information that proved both interesting and useful. Herr Grevenbroek, a former Secretary to the Council of Justice, had made various notes about the Hottentots and other Cape peculiarities. Had he lived longer he would have undoubtedly studied more closely the subject-matter of his notes and arranged everything in proper order. On his death his notes were handed over to Kolbe, who thus acquired a rich collection of material, but bundled together higgledy-piggledy" (Mandelbrote's translation, V.R. Soc., 4, p. 19).

I have thought it necessary to give these statements in full, as they have an important bearing upon the history of Grevenbroek's MSS. Let us first examine the charges against Kolb. The story consists of two parts: (a) that he was the medium through which the discontented farmers of the Cape brought their grievances against the Governor to the notice of the Dutch Government; (b) that Grevenbroek's MSS found their way into the hands of Kolb and were used by him as the basis of his description of the Hottentots. The first may at once be dismissed. The only possible event to which it could refer is the movement of the colonists against Adriaan van der Stel. The latter in consequence of a memorandum conveyed to Holland in 1706 by four of the disaffected burghers was recalled the following year. The whole affair was over within two years of Kolb's arrival at the Cape; and he stayed there for another six years. That his book, which in its Dutch translation (it was originally written in German) was not published until 1727, could have been instrumental in bringing about the recall of van der Stel twenty years previously is utterly ridiculous.

This does not of course do away with the charge that Kolb based his account of the Hottentots on Grevenbroek's manuscript. As we have seen, he himself admits having read it; and there is other evidence to suggest that he used it. His vocabulary of Hottentot words is almost identical with that quoted by Valentyn from Grevenbroek,

and in all probability therefore was also derived from the same source; especially as Kolb says that he made some attempts to learn the Hottentot language and could never succeed. Moreover some of the statements he makes about Hottentot custom and belief are also found in Grevenbroek's account printed below, and nowhere else in contemporary descriptions of the Hottentots. The coincidences are occasionally too striking to be entirely due to independent observation.

The difficulty about accepting in its entirety the story told by de la Caille and Mentzel is that Grevenbroek was still alive when Kolb left the Cape. The latter can therefore hardly be held to have taken away with him the notes found in the dead Grevenbroek's effects. There is on the other hand no reason why Kolb could not during Grevenbroek's lifetime have borrowed substantially from the latter's notes on the Hottentots, or even have received them all from him. We know from Valentyn that Grevenbroek allowed others to draw upon his manuscript, and we also know that both Grevenbroek and Kolb were living at Stellenbosch from 1710 to 1712. Certainly some suggestion of this sort is necessary to account for the total disappearance of Grevenbroek's later manuscript. It is evident from what both Kolb and Valentyn say that between 1705 and 1713 Grevenbroek was in possession of a detailed study of the Hottentots compiled by himself. The account here published is dated 1695, and appears to have been sent as a letter to a Dutch clergyman, who must have had it copied, for the manuscript is not in Grevenbroek's writing. That it cannot be the manuscript to which Kolb and Valentyn refer is evident not only from the date it bears, but also from the fact that it does not contain the long vocabulary on which Valentyn drew.

Now Grevenbroek himself hints at the end of this letter to a future study of the same sort in more detail. "I hope, nay, I am confident, that this slight sketch of the province and description of the country will soon be superseded, for the common good, by another of more powerful eloquence, fashioned in every line, truly and brilliantly, by the hand of a Lysippus." Is it going too far to suggest that Grevenbroek may many years later have seen in Kolb the new Lysippus, and willingly handed over to him the additional notes he had meanwhile compiled? It may reasonably be objected that if Kolb had thus acquired Grevenbroek's material he would have made full acknowledgment to the latter. It is on the other hand equally conceivable, though far less creditable to Kolb, that he may have deliberately suppressed this indebtedness in order to enhance his own reputation. That he was not too

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114 scrupulous about carrying out his obligations is evident enough from his career at the Cape.

All this, however, is pure speculation. The established facts are that in 1705 and later Grevenbroek had in his possession an account of the Hottentots written by himself; that this was never published under his name, and the manuscript seems to have disappeared; and that there is every reason to believe that Kolb actually made much fuller use of it than is suggested by the quotation given above in which he refers to Grevenbroek.

The manuscript here printed must be looked upon therefore as a preliminary draft of the presumably more detailed and now lost account. It is a very badly arranged piece of work, passing confusedly from one topic to another, with frequent irrelevancies and repetitions. Despite its title it is by no means devoted exclusively to the Hottentots. Towards the end there is a eulogistic account of the Cape's natural beauty and fruitfulness which would do credit to any modern publicity agent; the adventures of the ill-fated Guillaume Chenut and the survivors of the wrecked "Stavenisse" (1686) take up far too much space; and running right through the whole is a violent denunciation of the European colonists coming very oddly from one who ten years later was held to be among the champions of their cause. The ethnographical information that makes up the rest is by no means all based on original research. A good deal of it, referring to the Ama-Xhosa, is taken directly from the accounts of the "Stavenisse" survivors, which were copied into the official records of the Cape by Grevenbroek himself in his capacity as Secretary of the Council. He almost certainly made notes for his own use of their valuable and accurate information about the manners and customs of the natives, for there is a very close correspondence between his statements and the official records, although the literary embellishments in which he indulged compare most unfavourably with the simple narratives of the sailors. His account of the adventures undergone by the latter is much less accurate, and suggests that here he was writing from memory alone. In describing native customs, he does not always distinguish clearly between the AmaXhosa and the Hottentots, whom he obviously regarded as people of the same stock; but a comparison of his statements with the relevant "Stavenisse" records makes it possible to disentangle his own contributions from those of the shipwrecked crew. The information relating to the Cape Hottentots alone does not make up more than about a third of the whole. But it is well worth having, particularly for the descriptions of various social customs, mode of life and warfare, ceremonial

practices and treatment of disease. The details Grevenbroek gives in this connexion are often new and sometimes valuable, and show that he had managed to learn much about the Hottentots. Nevertheless, the reputation he has acquired as an outstanding ethnographical authority can only be based on the supposition that his later account formed the basis of Kolb's book. The present account, important as it is in some respects, is inferior both in quality and content not only to that of Kolb but also to that of Schreyer, and in arrangement to those of Dapper and Ten Rhyne. 114

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TRANSLATOR'S NOTE.

● 114 The Latin text of Grevenbroek's letter on the Hottentots is now transcribed and printed for the first time. It is a well-written MS in a large hand and rarely offers any difficulty to the reader. I have slightly modernized the punctuation. I have curbed the lavish and erratic use of capitals. I have silently corrected many small slips. In other cases I have preferred to reveal my corrections, using round brackets to enclose letters added by me, and square brackets to indicate letters I would have removed. Very rarely I have had recourse to a footnote in elucidation of the text. But the text still retains many faults and obscurities most of which are probably to be ascribed to Grevenbroek himself and not to the unknown person who made the copy of it we possess.

For the Latin of Grevenbroek is not a satisfactory medium. It is dictionary Latin, laboriously compiled by a man of poor taste and inaccurate though very likely wide scholarship. It is full of tags from Virgil, Horace, Lucretius and others. The alleged elegance of the Latinity consists largely of curiosities of diction culled from Plautus, Cato, the Natural History of Pliny, Varro on the Latin Language and any other available store-house of archaic and unfamiliar words. A peculiarly distressing feature of the style is the accumulation of masses of synonyms which add nothing to the narrative but confusion. Furthermore the sentences are often shapeless and endless, lumbering along from clause to clause till they seem to drop from exhaustion rather than to reach any intended goal.

In my translation I have permitted myself a few archaisms in order to keep some of the flavour of the original. I have kept very close to the sense of the Latin, as it was essential to lose nothing of the information that may be extracted from his pages. But I have also laboured to make my version readable, and if I have succeeded in this Grevenbroek owes me a debt that nobody will ever owe to Grevenbroek.

At the same time I should like to say that to translate Grevenbroek has been a labour of love. In spite of his infelicitous, pedantic, helpless style, the man reveals so much both of his own curious personality and of the Cape society of his day, that a readable Grevenbroek, if I could make it, seemed to me a possession that many beside the anthropologist would be glad to have. For Grevenbroek is

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114 a character. If he repels by his perpetual insistence on his own unmerited and unspecified grievances, he attracts by his honest indignation at the abuses of the time and by his charming, if absurdly expressed, enthusiasm for the Cape and its native inhabitants. He really had something to say that lay very close to his heart; and for that reason it has been a delight to disencumber his thought from the clumsy toils of his laborious Latin eloquence.

One other translation of Grevenbroek exists, that made in Dutch by Dr. J. W. G. van Oordt and printed in the *Zuid-Afrikaansche Tydschrift* for January and February 1886. This was reprinted in 1932 in vol. xxxvi of the publications of the Linschoten-Vereeniging (*Reizen in Zuid-Afrika in de Hollandse Tijd*, uitgegeven door Dr. E. C. Godée-Molsbergen. Vierde Deel). Dr. van Oordt omitted some few portions of the original, notably a page or two dealing with initiation ceremonies. This edition then comprises not only the first English translation, but the first complete translation in any language, as well as the first transcription and publication of the Latin text.

My version was made in complete independence of the Dutch. On comparing them subsequently I was glad to find how closely Dr. van Oordt and I agreed in our general interpretation of the sense of this difficult author. Two sentences of mine embody corrections which the reading of his version led me to adopt. I have also acknowledged suggestions of Dr. van Oordt's once or twice in footnotes.

B. F.

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Korana

EDITOR'S NOTE

This number of Bantu Studies contains contributions from three members of the University of the Witwatersrand dealing with different aspects of the Korana Hottentots of the Western Transvaal. Professor L. F. Maingard, Head of the Department of French and Romance Philology, has dealt with the History, Customs and Language ; his son, J. F. Maingard, from the Medical School, has dealt with the Physical Characteristics of the people ; while Professor P. R. Kirby, Head of the Department of Music, has contributed a section dealing with his special subject. The production of such a number as this well illustrates the value of team work in field research. Professor Kirby is responsible for the photographs, and Mr. S. P. Jackson, Lecturer in the Department of Geography, prepared the map. The spelling *Korana* has been retained throughout as the most convenient one for English readers.

The following abbreviations have been used in footnotes in the various articles :—

Arbousset and Daumas=Relation d'un voyage, etc. (Paris, 1842).

B.C.=Report of the Bloemhof Commission.

B.M.B. *or* B.M.J.=Berliner Missions Berichte or Jahresberichte.

Bas. Rec.=Basutoland Records (3 volumes, Cape Town, 1883).

Broadbent=A Narrative of the first introduction of Christianity among the Barolong (London 1865).

Burchell=Travels in the interior of South Africa (London 1822).

Campbell, 1813=Campbell, Travels in South Africa (1st journey, London, 1813).

Campbell, 1820=Campbell, Travels in South Africa (2nd journey, 2 volumes, London 1820).

G.M.=Godée-Molesbergen, Reizen in Zuid-Afrika (3 volumes, 'S-Gravenhage, 1916),

Md. *or* Moodie=The Record (Cape Town 1838).

R.W.M.M.S.=Report of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society.

W.M.N.=Wesleyan Missionary Notices.

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STUDIES IN KORANA HISTORY, CUSTOMS AND LANGUAGE

By Professor L. F. MAINGARD, M.A., D.LIT.

I. THE PROBLEMS—A GLIMPSE INTO THE PRESENT-DAY LIFE OF THE KORANA

[10] 114 The Korana are a branch of the Hottentot race. They are a very interesting people from many points of view and they present a field of study still fresh and as yet imperfectly explored. To the historian, the mystery of their origin is still a fascinating problem, for they may still perpetuate the original Hottentot tribes who lived at the Cape when it was discovered by the Portuguese. To the physical anthropologist there is much yet to learn respecting their relationship with the rest of their Hottentot brethren, and indeed, with the other races of South Africa. The social anthropologist and the ethnographer are arrested by the remnants of the ancient customs of a tribe which was for a long time, even with its European contacts, a genuinely pastoral one, and by the gradual transformation and even the disappearance of those ancient customs and their changed mode of life. The strange clicks, the tones and the peculiar structure of their language, are another aspect of this people, and one that, because of its unique position in the midst of the Bantu and Bush languages, has still many unsolved problems.

[161] The Korana live, in the present century, in small groups scattered widely over the central portions of the Union. They are a vanishing race. In the middle of last century their numbers were estimated by competent authorities at 20,000, and, in spite of the absence of accurate statistical data for the present day, it does not appear that more than 1000 exist now. If any attempt is to be made to solve the problems that confront the student to-day, it is imperative to go into the field and collect as much of the fast-disappearing fragments of their customs and traditions and language as may be garnered before it is too late.

121 Many people—authors, and reliable authors,—have asserted that "the Korana is extinct." I made it my business to verify their statements. My historical inquisitiveness and my researches into the Africana

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nas made up a commando against Thow, and fought them at his werf and killed many of them. The Kafirs desired to know what it was that killed a man and looked like a thorn. The Koranna commando returned and Thow subsequently fell sick and died, whereupon the Korannas again made up a commando and the Kafirs resolved to escape to Sitlagollo, south of Malopo. This is the spot where the Transvaal commando fought against Monsheoa in 1852. At that time the Batlapins and Barolongs did not live together. The Korannas then took Touns and the land of Thow, who was the great chief of the Kafirs."*

Another shorter version which Massow himself repeated in a document of November 1870,[1] is substantially the same. It, however, contains one or two important variants. Klaarwater, the present Griquatown, is the scene of *Tau's* treachery, and not the Orange River, which apparently the Korana had already crossed in this version. A more serious discrepancy is that here it is Massow's grandfather and not his great-grandfather who is murdered. The place of the next encounters between Korana and Barolong, is, more precisely, Taungs itself where, we are told, four battles were fought before *Tau* died and before the Barolong were driven to Setlagoli.

If the genealogies given by McKenzie[2] and by Molema[3] are to be trusted,—and they were confirmed by the deposition of Mooi at the Bloemhof Commission,[4] in respect of the number of three generations from *Tau* to Sifonello, the date of whose death is known to be 1829,—*Tau* reigned some time in the middle of the 18th century, and that would place the battle between him and the Korana before 1750.

There is, however, no trace of these wars in the first European historian of the Korana, J. H. Wikar.[5] He had been among the Korana in the second half of the 18th century, in 1778-9, and he gives a very detailed picture of the Hottentot communities and of their activities on the Orange River. There it runs through miles of desolate country, and a desert of red sand extends right up to its banks. Beyond the Great Falls, between Kakamas and Upington,—a distance of 36 miles—there is a broad stretch of the river about two miles in width, where the water runs in innumerable channels, encircling islands large and small, over-

*B. C. p. 290.
[1] Lindley-*Adamantia*, p. 10-11.
[2] McKenzie, *Austral Africa*. I. p. 56.
[3] Molema. *The Bantu*, p. 48.
[4] B. C. p. 136.
[5] G. M. II. p. 78-138.

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Do not light your pipe in a fire in the veld.

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If you see anything sick in the veld, do not look at its foot. Bring it to the stad. The old men will look at its foot. If you look at its foot in the veld, you have transgressed, you must go back.

Then the fat of sheep is drunk. Then he is called. He answers. Then stones are struck in his ear. If he is far and he is called, he hears.

A nine year old heifer is picked, he chases it. If he catches its tail, he is a man. If he does not catch it, he is brought back to the " law."

Notes:

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The *doro* ceremony. For an analysis of the accounts concerning the Nama ceremony and the sources, see Schapera, The *Khoi-san Peoples*, pp. 279-285, Olpp has given the most detailed account for the *Naman*. Schapera omits all reference to the Korana ceremonies throughout this part of his work.

For the Korana, see

(i) Wikar, in G. M. II pp. 103-104.

(ii) Campbell, 1820, II p. 346.

(iii) Wuras. Ms. (1858) published in *Bantu Studies*, iii, p. 291-293.

(iv) Burkhardt. p. 118.

(v) Meinhof. p. 17-18 and 66-67.

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It is the first time that the full *doro* ceremony is given in Korana. Meinhof has published a Korana text of the " laws " and has given a short description of the ceremony in German. Campbell merely says : " They have no rite of circumcision like the Bootchuana and the Morolong nations ; but when a boy enters upon a state of manhood, a feast called Dorro is made according to the circumstances of the father. Sometimes eight or ten oxen are slain upon such an occasion."

By far the fullest account for the Korana is Wuras'. His facts tally with those set out in the two texts above. There are however one or two material points in which Wuras differs :

(a) the fat is rubbed on the boy's body, not drunk,

(b) the " *dunb*, the very act of reception," as his version has it, consists of three parts : (i) " the knocking of the awls," which corresponds to the knocking of the stones in our text ; (2) nine cuts on the belly and nine cuts on the chest of the initiate ; (3) the " laws " given to him.

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Note : Henceforth, explained *Iis* and *Meis*, she ceased to be a */ko:s* and became an *oaxais*, until her marriage when she became a *taras* or wife. *Iis* added that they were too poor nowadays to keep up such an elaborate ritual, which sometimes lasted for months.

This ceremonial has been described extremely briefly for the Korana by Wuras (loc. cit.) For the Naman, see Schapera (op. cit. p. 272-279) who analyses all the previous accounts and gives his sources as usual. The fullest Nama description is that of Mrs. Hoernlé (*Harvard African Studies*, ii. pp. 70-74). Her account substantially agrees with the above text. It contains a full timing of the proceedings and lays stress on the festivities and other details. There is in both accounts the same symbolical return to the household duties and the same renewal of the initiate's contact with water after her long period of impurity and seclusion, as well as her inability to do the normal things of life, while she is cut off from her fellow creatures. Likewise the sacramental meal is restricted to women and only to women who are free from their periods.

The *sāb* spoken of in the Korana text is a sweet-smelling powder. *Kheis* brought me some and she and *Iis* separated its constituent elements. They are as follows : (i) */kaep ;* (ii) */ui sāb*, a green lichen growing on stones ; (iii) */hareb*, " veld biesies," roots only ; (iv) */hu !kūb ;* (v) */gwabeb* grows in vleis, only found at Warrenton on the Vaal in winter ; and lastly the */konabab* root, of the colour of the earth, and reduced to small pieces. The mixture must smell sweet (*!gāi ham*). The women use it not only as described above, but also on their armpits and to rub babies with.

It might be well to add the few words I have collected about their marriage. No more elaborate ceremonies now exist. In former times, twenty oxen, they said, were killed for the festivities, which were accompanied by the *≠a:di* and dancing. The *aba gomas* was given to the mother of the bride by the bridegroom and the young bride was welcomed with more festivities and dancing into the bridegroom's kraal. When a child was born a */naes /ko:na gomab*, " an ox for the newborn children " was given to the mother, if a boy was born. If a girl, a cow was given, */naes /ko:na gomas*.

The life history of *Iis*

gei !koab kurib !na Iis kje !khoub kx²ai !nae ha. ikje !koab hwa kx²omina !go kx²ai. //na: //kae, kx²omina /harukwa xu die ha. ikje /harukwa /hāb xu die, ikje tarakhwedi !garib !na /hākwa di /hou /hou.

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Note :

These terms are used : (i) in conversation with third parties ; (ii) when a younger member of the family addresses an older one. (iii) When the older person addresses a younger one in the family, the personal name is used by that elder person. The practice in (ii) seems to be falling into disuse, to the great sorrow of my informants. On account of the method used here, the lists are not so full as they should be, e.g. the children of the mother's brother, as they do not appear in the genealogies, have not been recorded. The *Nama* family relationships and the terms denoting them have been exhaustively dealt with by Schultze (op. cit. p. 300-303) and by Mrs. Hoernlé (the Social Organisation of the Nama Hottentots, in *American Anthropology*, xxvii, p. 17-23). Cp. also Schapera (op. cit. pp. 230-233). Since our lists do not contain all the possible details, a thorough comparison of the Nama and Korana systems cannot be made here, though it can be said that the two agree with some differences in detail.

There is a further important deduction to make from our genealogical lists in connection with the giving of names. The Nama custom in this respect is well known. The sons take the mother's name, changing its final *-s* into a *-b* to make it masculine and the daughters, the father's name, making the converse change of *-b* into *-s*. Meinhof (op. cit. p. 17) has recorded, from his informant Benjamin Kats, the same exchange of names, without, however, any addition of the *-b* or *-s*. It will be gathered from a perusal of the genealogical tables of the Links Korana, that this practice does not obtain among them. On their being questioned, after the lists had been taken, they professed complete ignorance of the custom.

IMPLEMENTS, ETC.

Stone Artefacts.

Tarakhwedi na !o:kwa !khares thi heib thikha khau /kwa. //kwa ka ka kje na !kû, ina !uri //kae kx²wa ha. saob kx²ai //nâukwa na /oro //na:e. !kharedi kx²aysakwa xa takakhwedi dibae. geida khwekwa ikje diba. //guru /uikwa ida kje di tama. sa:kwa kukje di kwa.

Translation :

The women dig for " uintjes " with the bored-stone and the stick. In the morning they go. They return in the afternoon, in the winter, when the leaves dry off.

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Wikar has a full description of these bows and arrows of the Bushmen and of the pastoral people who dwell along the river (" de veeryke naties langs deeze rivier leggende " (G. M. ii. p. 130-131) as also the poisons used by them and their origin (ibid. pp. 131-133).

PASTIMES

The making of the *!goa !karib* (honey beer)

danisa u: ≠ke:i.

||nāib ina !hũe, ina |kũ |kũe, ina ||karae, ina thamsa !kaib ab u:e. ina danis |kwa ≠gobe.

ina |kamsa ||gamm ha ≠na ≠amme. ina o !go kx²aie. ina |kũ |kũe.

Translation :

Honey is put in.

The *||nāib* root is stamped. It is boiled. Then it is sifted. Then its soft portion is taken. Then it is mixed with the honey.

Then boiling water is poured around it. Then it is covered up. Then it boils itself.

Note :

Beer-making is given under the present heading, as the beer was an essential part of all festivities. It has often been the subject of travellers' remarks, Thunberg, Wikar and Alexander, to mention the most prominent among them. Thunberg (1774 " *Travels*." II p. 150 and 167) calls the substance which acts as the fermenting agent by its Dutch name *moer-wortel*. Wikar (1778-1779, G. M. II, p. 92) has given a very full description : " Every day our company makes beer, the " dregs " (*moer*) through which the beer works is the root of the above-named *haap* or " haarwortel," which is dried and stamped and helps the warm, sweet honey water to work."—a description which concords with the Korana text given to me by *Tabab*. Wikar adds some further interesting details about the feasting that follows. The *||nāib* was described by *Tabab* as " 'n wortel met rooi blommetjes." According to Pettman (*Africanderisms*,) the *Mesembryanthemum Mill* is the root used. It seems that different roots were used in different places.

Games

(i) The *||hu:s*. This game is well known from the descriptions of observers like Schultze (*Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, p. 313-315). The

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524 Korana description did not differ from the game as played by the Naman. It may be useful to point out here that the game gets its name from *//hu:*, " To make a hole " and *//hu:s* is thus properly " a hole."

(ii) The *gunukunus*, " hide-and-seek." It is played by two or more players, one of them hiding some small object in one of his hands behind his back and then producing both his hands closed, he exclaims : " *ham !kumiŋ !na ha?* " " In which hand is it ? " If the opponent guesses correctly, he says : *!kaugu*. " You win."

This game is of interest because it is the famous " Hottentot card-playing," to call it by the name under which it was familiar to the Dutch colonists. It has been lengthily described by Sparrman, among others, in his *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope*, (I, p. 231-233). He, however, missed the essentials of its significance.

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VI. LANGUAGE.

197 This short survey concerns only the language of the *//aremŋ //ais* of Bloemhof and it is limited to its most important aspects. It does not appear necessary to go in a detailed manner into the features which our particular dialect may have in common with the rest of the Korana language and which have been adequately dealt with in the following works :

197 113 (i) Engelbrecht—J. A. *Studies oor Korannataal*, Kaapstad, 1928. It contains a grammatical sketch and a very copious vocabulary.

(ii) Meinhof—C. *Der Koranadialekt des Hottentottischen*, Berlin, 1930. A very thorough exposition of the grammar and the vocabulary.

(iii) Maingard—L. F. *A revised ms. version of the Korana Catechism of C. F. Wuras*, Bantu Studies, v, 112-165. Contains a detailed grammatical analysis of the text and a comparative vocabulary.

PHONOLOGY

194 *Note :* The texts already given preserve the individual peculiarities of each speaker.

(a) *Vowels*. Their pronunciation is not always very clear. Engelbrecht has already noted the indistinctness between the pairs *ẽ* and

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GENEALOGY OF THE TAAIBOSCH CHIEFS

Sources :

(i) the deposition of Massow Rijt Taaibosch at the Witgatboom Meeting in 1869. (B. C. 290-291) ;

(ii) the deposition of Petrus Rooy, a councillor of Jacob Taaibosch, at the same Meeting. (B. C. pp. 291-292) ;

(iii) Arbousset and Daumas, pp. 49-50. Their principal informant, it will be remembered, was Hanto ;

(iv) The Bloemhof Korana ;

(v) A document dated November 1870, in Lindley's *Adamantia*, pp. 10-13, which is signed by Massow Rijt Taaibosch himself ;

(vi) certain details about Jan Kaptein will be found in Rev. John Edwards' *Fifty years of Mission Life in South Africa*, pp. 109-110 ;

(vii) and *passim*, in the Bloemhof Commission Report and in the Wesleyan Missionary Notices and the Year's Reports of the same Society.

In the present lists, (i) the first part, has been obtained from Massow Rijt Taaibosch's deposition. The names provided with asterisks are from Petrus Rooy's deposition. The names of the descendants of Massow were given by my Bloemhof informants. The small list (ii) is drawn from Arbousset and Daumas.

This is the least satisfactory of all the lists given here. We have had occasion to remark on Massow's untrustworthiness in some respects (see the early history of the Korana). Stow, as we shall see, has complicated the problem by some unwarrantable blunders in his genealogy of the Taaibosch family, (*The Native Races of South Africa*, p. 298).

The Earlier Generations.

Massow gives one set of ancestors in (i) and Arbousset and Daumas another set in (ii). It may, however, be possible to reconcile them, if it is borne in mind that

(i) the French missionaries naturally used the French spelling ;

(ii) there was no adequate system of phonetic notation for the Native names, the clicks offering a special difficulty.

With these remarks in view, it is possible that

(a) *ktangy* may = *kuenonkei* (*p*)

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kt represents here an unknown click, possibly a dental one, in the same way as *kuen* = *kn*, *ue* being a glide sound; the combination *kn* does not exist in French. The *g*=*k*, the second one of the French transcription, as *k* and *g* interchange in Korana. The difficulty is a nasal element of the click in the French transcription, possibly arising from the second nasal.

(b) *knaughoe* may = *konga* (*p*); and (c) *gauw* = *kau* (*p*).

If the above interpretation is correct, then Arbousset and Daumas must have been mistaken as to the direct line of descent of members of this list.

Stow has inverted the line of succession between *Eikomo* and *Kuebib* without any vestige of reason, for there is not a single word in Arbousset and Daumas, from whom he drew his information, to warrant any such inversion.

The Indentity of Hanto = Jan Taaibosch = Jan Kaptein.

There can be no question that these three names denote the same man. The descriptions of *Hanto* in Arbousset and Daumas and of *Jan Kaptein* in Edwards show that both the one and the other are

(i) the Korana chief of Umpukani; (ii) thirty-three years of age; (iii) meet with the same manner of death, by a lion; (iv) have the same physical appearance; (v) are both pious, and these similarities are all the more striking, as the French missionaries actually saw and spoke to the man in 1836, and as Edwards was his missionary for a number of years.

Backhouse, in his *Narrative of a Voyage to the Mauritius and South Africa*, p. 393, has an entry under July 1839, in his Journal: " This late chief Jan Kaptein Taaibosch, a pious man, was killed by a lion; his son (who) was receiving his education at Farmerfield, Albany." Two points are important here, (a) that the names Jan Kaptein Taaibosch are this time all three joined together to denote the same man; and (b) that both *Jan Kaptein Taaibosch* and the *Hanto* of Arbousset and Daumas had a young son.

Hanto came originally from Ramah on the Orange River, and lived for a time at Taungs. He and his brother Gert Taaibosch joined the Barolong chief Moroko, when he emigrated from Platberg on the Vaal to Thaba 'Nchu in 1834 (B. C. p. 263).

Here again Stow was under a misapprehension, when he made *Hanto* and *Jan Taaibosch* two different men, calling *Hanto* the father of

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Kopi and *Jan Taaibosch* the father of *Gert Taaibosch*, the latter being in reality the brother of the former (Cp. B. C. p. 263 " Captain Hantu, whom his brother Gert Taaibosch succeeded.")

Hans Taaibosch is the same person as *Kopi*, for the reigning chief in 1838 was *Hans Kaptein* (Papers relating to the Wesleyan Missions, LXXIII, September 1838, p. 2, and Report for the year 1840, pp. 61) and we know that the young Farmerfield student died at the end of 1839 or the beginning of 1840 (Shaw's Report in Report for the year 1840, p. 67).

Omissions.

(i) *Jacob Taaibosch*. He is mentioned as Jan Kaptein's brother by Edwards. At the Witgatboom meeting (1869) and also at Mamusa before Colonel Warren (1878) a *Jacob Taaibosch* appears (*Imperial Blue Book*. C. 2454, '79, p 33-34.) Whether the latter is the same as the brother of Jan Kaptein is not clear.

(ii) *Isaac Taaibosch*, mentioned by Petrus Rooy, as having succeeded *Hans*, (B. C. 293).

(iii) *Goliath Ysterbek*, the chief of the Bethany Hottentots. He is given by Massow Rijt Taaibosch (document in *Adamantia*) as a cousin of Jan Taaibosch. It is not clear whose descendant he is.

GENEALOGY OF THE LINKS CHIEFS

Sources : Informants at Bloemhof ; supplemented by the publications of the Berlin Missionary Society (1848-1854). *Teteb*, *Tabab* and others gave details which are fully supported by these records.

geiŋ !hareip, " great " or " old Hareip " is the " alte Hareip " of the Berichte (1850, p. 37, etc.) He is given as the father of Gert Links, the captain of Saron (1848-1854) and, when Johann Schmidt arrived, was already a very old man (" ein circa 90 jähriger Greis." B. M. B. 1851, p. 122), so that he must have been born about 1760 and been therefore one of the original Korana of the Orange River. If that is the case, he was already advanced in years in 1823, when Broadbent and Hodgson travelled in the Bloemhof district. It might not then be improbable to identify him with the chief *Chudeep*, " a venerable old man," about whom these missionaries speak so much. Phonetically, the identity can be explained, for, in the unsatisfactory rendering of the time, *ch* would represent a click, *-d-* would stand for the flapped retroflex consonant, which is heard by some as *l* and by others as *d* or *r* ; and the *u* would be the obscure vowel, as the tone and stress are on the last

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syllable. So that we have an unbroken record of the Links chiefs from 1823 to the present day in this genealogical list. According to the Bloemhof traditions, *geiŋ !hareip* died after 1854, the date of the breaking-up of the Saron Mission. This is not in disagreement with the Berichte.

Ouhanas, " old Hanna " is the pious " alte Hanna, die Frau des alten Hareip " (B.M.B. 1853, p. 85). Her grave is one of the three still extant on the site of the Saron Mission Station.

Gert Links, the captain of Saron (B.M.B. 1848-1854) was still alive in 1869, as he appeared at the Witgatboom meeting. He was then old and ill (B.C. p. 279 ; p. 292). He probably died shortly after.

Johannes Links deputised for his brother Gert at Witgatboom after the first day (B.C. p. 298). He was born near Bloemhof (B.C. 292) and was a much younger man. He succeeded his brother in the Chieftainship. He seems to have died shortly before 1878 (See Report of Sir C. Warren, *Imperial Blue Book* C. 3635, 83, p. 5). His grave is at Saron (See plate 4).

Hermanus Links succeeded his brother (not his father, as Warren says). He was the chief at the time of the differences between Warren and Brune (1878-1879). He died before the end of 1880 (Imperial Bluebook. C. 3114-'82. p. 86). There was another *Hermanus Links* who died in 1915, according to a letter, dated 11th February of that year, from H. Macleod, the Kimberley Law Agent of the Links, acknowledging that news of his death. (Ms. Private correspondence in the possession of *Teteb* of Bloemhof). He must=

Katsilib died at Cape Town, after fighting during the Great War (1915). He would have been the chief, if he had lived. *Teteb* is now looked upon as the *goaxaob*, although he has no longer the power nor the privileges of a chief.

Omissions :

Ursõb, the *Urson* of the Berichte and the *Oelson* of Chapman, the chief of the Links of Bamboes Spruit and Maquassie Spruit. The English traveller who met him on March 15th 1853, calls him the brother of Gert Links (Chapman, p. 128). It is not sure which Gert Links it is.

Matlabane's wife. She was a daughter of Gert Links the elder, i.e. *geiŋ !hareip*. *Matlabane* was a chief of the BaMairi (B.C. p. 292 ; 298). Her name is unknown.

Finally, these members of the branch who appear in the Berliner Missions Berichte, 1851, pp. 122-123, but who were not mentioned by my Bloemhof informants:—(i) *Maria*, the sister of *geiŋ !hariep* ; (ii)

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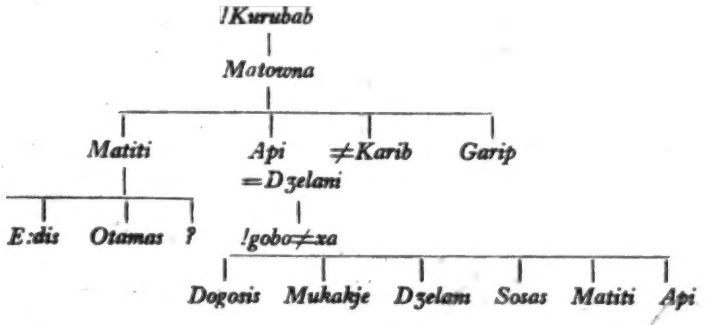
old *Rooy*, the eldest son of *geiŋ !hariep*, a drunkard and ne'er-do-well. Was he the same as *Ursŏb?* (iii) the unnamed daughter of *geiŋ !hariep* and *Ouhanas*, who, according to the Berichte, was not the mother of *geiŋ !hariep's* sons.

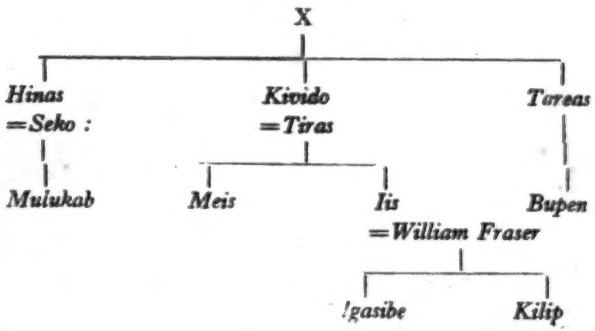
GENEALOGY OF TABAB

Habasisap's Dutch name was given to me as "Frans Viljoen." He must therefore be the same Frans Viljoen, "de Korana Kapitein" mentioned by Molitsane as being under him, to the two Free State emissaries Schneehage and Meyer when they visited him in 1859 (*Bas. Rec.* ii. p. 509). This is confirmed by the fact that *Tabab's* birthplace was Senekal, near the then Basutoland border.

GENEALOGY OF *MATITI* AND *!GOBO≠XA*



GENEALOGY OF *MEIS* AND *IIS*



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PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE KORANA.*

By J. F. MAINGARD, B.SC.

A. INTRODUCTORY

114 During the month of February 1932, I was fortunate enough to have the opportunity of making anthropological measurements on several members of the Links tribe of Korana Hottentots at Bloemhof.

These measurements are the more interesting because the actual physical characters of the Korana and their relationship to other South African peoples have been matters of considerable speculation within recent years. No writer on the Korana has denied that culturally and linguistically the Korana are Hottentots, and the general consensus of opinion seems to be that anthropologically also they are similar to other Hottentots. Yet there are some writers who maintain that there are certain other elements entering into the composition of the Korana. Thus according to Broom (1 and 2) the Korana " appear to be Hottentots who have acquired some strain of Negroid blood and a considerable strain from some Australoid (sic) race." In *Nature* of 1929, Broom (3) attempts to differentiate the Hottentots from the Korana. He writes : " The Hottentot and Korana are very distinct from the Bush. . . typical Hottentots are not improbably the primitive race contaminated by a considerable Bushman admixture while the Korana are apparently nearer to the primitive type, but with a considerable Australoid element." Two years afterwards we find a seeming contradiction of Broom's theory of Australoid admixture in the Korana in the following statement by Dreyer (4) : " Disregarding those Australoids found up to the present in South Africa the Australoid character of which is sought in one or two features only, one need only consider one skull seriously, viz. that described by Drennan " (5), (i.e. the Cape Flats skull). From this statement of Dreyer's it appears that the distinction drawn by Broom between Korana and Hottentots is not generally accepted. In *Nature*

*I wish to record my indebtedness for assistance more particularly to Professor R. A. Dart, who helped me with books and instruments and whose kindly criticisms proved invaluable, to Mr. L. H. Wells for much helpful information, to Mrs. A. W. Hoernlé for allowing me access to her library, to Miss Wilman, the Director of the Kimberley Museum, and to my father, Professor L. F. Maingard.

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● 114 of 1929 also, speaking of the Springbok Flats man, then newly discovered, Broom (6) regards the Korana as the direct descendants and modern representatives of the Springbok Flats type ; yet Keith (7) in 1931 says of this same Springbok Flats type " He was a tall strong fellow with a big brain, and a long and wide head, a drawn out face, great mandible and small teeth—*a type which we cannot fit into any African type known to us*."

From my experience the Korana can hardly be said to conform to Keith's description of the Springbok Flats individual, but it is possible that some of them may show such features. In any case Keith's description of that skull is not in accordance with what Broom describes for his typical " Australoid " Korana !

Allen (8) tentatively advances the suggestion that the intrusion of the Australoid element into the Korana is due to admixture with Bushmen and that such a strain " may be found mixed with all the Yellow-skinned (i.e. Bush-Hottentot) peoples of South Africa."

Schapera (9) says that " the Korana skulls appear to be somewhat separated from those of other Hottentot tribes, and resemble more closely those of the Bantu-speaking Negroes of South-Central Africa (i.e. the Bechuana) with whom they have been in contact for a long time, but they also approximate on the whole, *more* towards the Bushman type of skull." This is a quotation from Shrubsall which is somewhat ambiguous. Schapera quotes Broom as one of his sources, but makes no mention of Australoid characters in the Korana. No measurements are given.

Further he says " Most (Hottentot) skulls are cryptozygous but among the Korana, mesozygous and phaenozygous are also found," and again " the cephalic index, owing to the greater length and lesser breadth of the Hottentot skulls is definitely dolichocephalic, especially in the Korana skulls." This seems to show that he agrees with Shrubsall in regarding Hottentots and more especially Korana as characterised by a mixture of Bantu and Bush features. He also adds that the Korana mandible as contrasted with that of the other Hottentots, resembles the mandible of the South-Eastern Bantu. Nevertheless he seems to think that still another element contributed to the physical structure of the Hottentot but refrains from committing himself as to its nature.

Sollas (10) apparently considers the Korana as negroids although he is not very explicit. Drennan (11) in his discussion of Bush and Hottentot does not mention them at all. Dart (12) in a general survey of South African Anthropology says " Investigations . . . . have not in my opinion

12: Maingard D-5 (1931-1932) 1932
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revealed any satisfactory means of separating the Bushmen from the Hottentots physically." He therefore believes it more serviceable for the present "to regard the Bushmen, Hottentot and Strandlooper as members of one and the same racial group, i.e. the Bush race." Without making specific mention of the Korana, he states that the work of Broom and Allen has revealed the presence and wide distribution of an Australoid element in the Native races of South Africa. This appears to be the most logical way of regarding the matter. Hence it would not seem that Australoid features are *peculiar* to the Korana.

On examining the literature to find what ground exists for these statements about the Korana, no data derived from known living or dead Korana could be found.

As making statements about the Korana, before any anthropometric survey of certifiable specimens was available, seemed to me to be somewhat precarious, I availed myself of the opportunity to examine some living Korana of known parentage to see whether they agreed in physical characters with the published statements.

The foregoing review clearly shows the rather unsatisfactory state of our knowledge of the physical anthropology of the Korana. It is therefore important to gather all relevant information which may lead to a real understanding of the physical nature of these people.

Elsewhere in this volume, cultural, linguistic and musical data concerning them have been discussed, and judged according to these standards, there is no doubt that *the Korana are Hottentots*. In the next portion of our study we shall turn our attention to the earliest descriptions of the Korana, to see if new light may be derived from them. The historical method of approach, although seldom used by anthropologists, happens to be of undoubted value in this instance.

It is however essential while discussing the historical evidence to bear in mind the defects inherent in the mode and time of its collection.

In the first place those old observers were not trained anthropologists,—anthropology had not yet been established as a science—nor with very few exceptions, such as Lichtenstein or Holub, were they even medical men. Hence we cannot expect to find any precise anatomical descriptions, but only those of a general and superficial character,—those relating to the colouring or the more striking external features—information in which one may trust the faithful observer, although here and there individual differences in terminology may exist. But when there is a series of corroborative observations, drawn from different authors regard-

13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
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THE MUSIC AND MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS OF THE KORANA.*

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114 Although a certain amount of information is available regarding the musical practices of the Nama Hottentots, little firsthand knowledge concerning those of the Korana has hitherto been collected, and that little is for the most part scattered throughout the writings of a few travellers and missionaries. I therefore welcomed the opportunity of accompanying my colleague Professor L. F. Maingard to the Bloemhof area, where he had found quite a considerable number of Korana, many of them of great age, but still retaining considerable mental and physical powers.

The results of my investigation have been grouped under the headings, Musical Instruments, Vocal Music, and Musical Terms.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

126 534 Owing to the fact that these few old survivors of the Korana race are no longer living under their original tribal conditions, and also because the younger generation has been subjected to European influences, the musical instruments of ancient days are, almost without exception, no longer played. But the old people still retain their knowledge of them, and were not only ready and willing to impart information about them but did their very best to construct actual specimens, to perform upon them, and to instruct me in methods of performance. In this way seven distinct instruments, together with the manner of making and playing upon them, were identified ; and they include examples of Percussion, Wind, and Stringed instruments, and also the " Bull-roarer." The information gathered was as follows.

1. *Percussion Instruments*

534 A drum, named */khois*, was made and played by the Korana women. They took the wooden jar or pot, called *//hoes*, made from the willow tree,

*This study deals with a portion of "A Survey of the Music and Musical Practices of the Native Peoples of Southern Africa," now being conducted by the writer under the auspices and with the support of the Carnegie Corporation of New York and the Research Grant Board of the Union of South Africa.

13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
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534 others are tuned. I could obtain no names for any other flutes; the Korana said that they merely "followed on."

535 115 In December 1931, Professor Maingard obtained a description of the reed-flute dance, his informant being Saul van Eck, an old Kora who also supplied me with information. The *ǂa:di*, he said, were played by men moving in a circle (*ina ǂna:r ǂnammi*). In the middle of the circle was a man with a stick who beat the time. The minimum number of reed-flutes was three, which had the same names as the first three on my list above. But there were often as many as twelve, or even fourteen or more players. The whole kraal would join in the dance, even if they were not playing. The women stamped round in an outer circle, clapping their hands (*ina //am*) and shaking their buttocks (*/hare khuedi*). Four o'clock in the afternoon (*haka kororo:p*) was the right time to begin the dance, which lasted until morning (*//kca:ba*). Oxen were killed for the dancers.

535 621 786 797 After considerable questioning we succeeded in eliciting the information that occasionally there was a kind of "competition" between kraals, in which the reed-dance played a very important part. There can be little doubt that it was this aspect of the dance that roused the missionaries against it, although unquestionably their practice has always been to eradicate all forms of music peculiar to the peoples whom they wish to convert, and in its place to impose that to which they themselves have been accustomed. The inhabitants of one kraal would visit those of another, who met the visitors half-way, the women of each kraal accompanying their men. Oxen would be slaughtered by the hosts for the entertainment of the visitors, and the reed-dance would begin, the women of the one kraal dancing with the men of the other. The dance developed into an orgy, the women abandoning themselves to the men. As my informant put it, "they mixed."

114 533 535 Stow has given us a description of this practice on pages 114-115, but attributes it to the Bushmen, who, so far as I have been able to find out, never originally played reed-flutes; and on page 116 he states that "The Koranas had a dance which was identical with the one described, but as the Bushmen of the north practised it for generations before the Koranas made their appearance on the banks of the 'Nu'Gariep, it is not improbable that the latter derived their knowledge of it from the older race." But it is necessary to quote a passage written by Stow, which should follow the last paragraph on page 115, and which was ill-advisedly deleted by his editor Theal. I reproduce the passage, copied from Stow's original manuscript, with the kind permission of the Trustees of

13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
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the S. A. Public Library, Cape Town, where the manuscript now is. The passage in question was intended as a foot-note and runs: "The women of the Korana tribes had an exactly similar custom of periodically asserting their independence, and visiting the neighbouring kraals in a body, carrying their flutes with them—all the milk of the neighbourhood having been collected at the kraal threatened, when the same scenes of feasting and midnight revels were carried out." I am forced to conclude that Stow was either misinformed or misunderstood his informants when he made the statement that the women were the players. I have searched the records exhaustively in preparing a complete study of all these reed-flute ensembles which I hope to publish shortly, and in no case save that of Stow is there any suggestion that women played the flutes.

These reed-flute ensembles, in which one man contributes one note only, are of particular interest; it would appear that they represent a stage anterior to that of the classical pan-pipe or syrinx. For even though the maker of a set of these reeds may sound several himself by way of testing them, they are never normally so used in actual performance by these people. I have come across only one instance of the practice, and it has avowedly arisen through relatively recent European contacts. As it does not concern the Korana I shall not discuss it here.

3. *Stringed Instruments*

(a) The ordinary hunting bow of the Korana was called *kha:ɔ*, and from it three distinct types of stringed instruments appear to have been evolved. The first of these is precisely the same in design and materials as its prototype, save that it is much slenderer and is made specially for musical purposes. This instrument is called *!gabus*, and it consists of a slender stock of seasoned *beijebos*, about thirty inches in length, with the bark removed, and thoroughly smoothed where branches have been cut off. Should the wood be too pliable, it may be dried near a fire until sufficiently rigid, but the Korana preferred to let it dry naturally. A groove is cut at one end of the stick and a string of sinew from the back of an ox fixed in this groove by means of a slip knot. The string is then stretched along the stick and secured at the end by being looped round, that part of the string which passes below the sounding portion acting as a kind of "bridge." The tension is adjusted until a convenient pitch is obtained, the pitch being chosen in such a way that certain harmonics of the string may be readily resonated by the mouth. The end of the instrument at which the string is knotted is placed with its tip against the right hand corner of the mouth, the lips holding it securely, although the mouth behind it is open. The stick must not touch the teeth. The

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533 that it was possible to transcribe them into musical notation without much difficulty. The voice parts of two songs performed with *kha:ɪ* 533 accompaniment were recorded at Pneil by Meinhof in February 1928, and 114 transcribed by Heinitz in his *Struktur-Probleme in Primitiver Musik* in 1931. The sound of the *kha:ɪ*, however, could not be recorded, nor were the transcribed sounds associated with their corresponding syllables.

Further, Heinitz' description of the *kha:ɪ* itself, based upon that of Meinhof, is wrong in several respects; for he suggests that the string is "stopped" by the finger, says that it is made to vibrate by means of a 533 plectrum, and fails to note the distinctive use of the chin. Gotis showed me a method of playing this instrument *pizzicato*. She plucked the string with one hand, using the other for touching it at the "nodes." A further variant was demonstrated when she played as just described, while another woman struck the lower end of the string with the beater. They called this style "playing like baboons." Some interesting rhythmic variation was thus obtained, although the compass of the instrument was not affected thereby. The woman with the beater maintained a steady rhythm, while she who plucked the string was responsible for the variation. After playing, the Korana women slacken the string of the *kha:ɪ*.

533 In my paper of July 1931, entitled "The Mystery of the Grand 114 Gom-gom," published in Vol. XXVIII of the *South African Journal of Science*, I endeavoured to show how it must have been this instrument, or some similar one, which Le Vaillant saw in the hands of a Hottentot woman, and mistook for the *gora*, being in all likelihood misled by the chin action. At the time of writing that paper, I was not aware that the instrument was definitely a Hottentot one; but it seems to me that its presence among the Korana endorses my argument, even though the actual Hottentots described by Le Vaillant were not of that particular tribe.

534 (c) The third stringed instrument of the Korana is, perhaps, most characteristic of them. This is the famous *gora*, or *goras*, for I have heard them use both forms of the name. The *goras*, as is well-known, consists of a fairly straight stick with the bark removed, and seasoned suitably. A string of sinew is fixed to a spatulate piece of quill taken from the feather of a *korhaan*. The string is passed through a hole in the tip of the quill and spliced into itself, never knotted. The quill itself is lashed to one end of the stick by a piece of sinew or *riem*, and at the other end whipped to the stick like the string of the *!gabus*. By applying 533 the quill to the mouth, and inspiring and expiring vigorously, certain

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harmonics of the string are powerfully produced. As I have gone very fully into the history of and methods of construction and performance upon this instrument in my paper "*The Gora and its Bantu Successors*," published in *Bantu Studies* Vol. V, no. 2, June 1931, it is unnecessary to say more about it here, except to emphasise that it appears to have belonged particularly to the Korana. But I would add the information obtained in December, 1931, by Professor Maingard, when Mulukab, a Korana, who was in the Orange Free State, visited his friends at Bloemhof. When the name of the instrument was mentioned, all the Korana remembered it, but said that it was no longer played by them. Mulukab, however, became wildly excited, jumped up, and applying his traveller's stick to his mouth, hummed a tune and sketched a few dance steps. Mulukab is recognised as an expert on the instrument and can still play it. He added "You play it by yourself. It makes you forgetful of things, and you can be your own company." Plate VI shows Sele:ki, a Kora who lives in the location at Schweizer Reneke, photographed at that place playing upon the instrument.

The *ramki*, the guitar-like stringed instrument universally attributed to the Hottentots, is unknown to these Korana, and the principles involved in its construction are entirely foreign to their musical practice.

(d) Miscellaneous Instruments.

The only Korana instrument known to me which comes into this category is a form of bull-roarer, called *buru-buf*. It is made for and played only by young boys, and has lost any significance it may have had. It is interesting, however, in view of Balfour's suggestion that the bull-roarer may have had something to do with the origins of the gora. (Balfour: "*The Goura*," p. 173). Among the Korana it is made of a flat oblong strip of wood about five and a half inches long, two inches wide and a quarter of an inch thick. The wood is thinned down somewhat towards the tip (the corners of which are slightly rounded), and also along the edges. A hole is bored at the thick end, a string threaded through it, and the ends of the string knotted together. The boy takes the loop of string in his right hand and whirls the bull-roarer round and round in the usual manner. Plate VII shows a Kora boy holding the instrument.

VOCAL MUSIC

A number of songs performed chiefly by old Daob, the blind musician, were recorded on the phonograph, and afterwards transcribed by me. The texts were secured by Professor Maingard who has kindly

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

once correctly established, the natural offshoot will be a true scientific etymology. This science is *the* telescope with which, where all other records fail, we can draw prehistoric times into our immediate view, and which allows us a look far back into "the very dawn of man's life."

It is an urgent want for us here in South Africa that a Standard Orthography for the Native Languages should be introduced in all official, educational, and public departments. The task is not as difficult as it may appear at first sight, and where there is a will, there is a way.

In the present Standard Orthography we write the clicks as follows:—

The Lateral ǁ,	[1] ǁa,	[2] ǁna,	[3] ǁkha,	[4] ǁga,
The Cerebral ǃ,	[5] ǃā,	[6] ǃnā,	[7] ǃkhā,	[8] ǃgā,
The Palatal ǂ,	[9] ǂā,	[10] ǂnā,	[11] ǂkhā,	[12] ǂga.
The Dental ǀ,	[13] ǀā,	[14] ǀnā,	[15] ǀkhā,	[16] ǀgā.

The importance of the clicks will be best illustrated by giving the meanings of these words here at once, thus, [1] to wash, [2] to drop, [3] to be able, [4] to split, [5] to fall, [6] to light, [7] to bore, to perforate, [8] to serve, [9] to wash, [10] to pour, [11] to refuse, [12] to plant, [13] to be sharp, [14] to filter, [15] with, [16] isolated, separated, thin, &c., dotted.

Those who wish to inform themselves about the nature of these clicks and their bearing on the phonology of the Hottentot language, I refer to Henry Tindall's excellent "Grammar and Vocabulary of the Namaqua-Hottentot Language," and to my "Sprache der Nama."

In Tindall's book, however, and in my own no mention is made of a harsh faucal sound peculiar to the old Cape Hottentot dialects—of which Witsen and Leibniz have supplied some materials—to the ǃKora-Hottentot and to the Bushman languages of the ǃKham, ǃAi‡, ǃNuni, ǃKoang, Hei‡guis, Matsanakhoi and ǃGabe. I write this consonant, which most resembles a forcibly produced *short croaking sound*—just as if a person is endeavouring to get rid of a bone in the throat—with the Hebrew

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

114 ʒ (ajin). *The very fact that this sound is produced by expiration and not by inspiration places it among the consonants proper, and not among the clicks.**

Most of the materials contained in this treatise have steadily accumulated during the last nine years. Aware of the responsibility resting upon me, I have been careful to adduce such facts only as I can with full confidence declare to be genuine productions of the Khoikhoi mind.

The following pages were written down in their present shape in the months of August and September last year, as is known to Professors Max Müller, of Oxford, and Friedrich Müller, of Vienna, and other friends to whom I either wrote or spoke on the subject at the time.†

CCC I mention this the more as to-day a copy of the *Ausland*. February 16, 1880, comes to my hands, in which an article, Die Religion der sogenannten Wilden, reviewing Gustav Roskoff's book, "Das Religionswesen der rohesten Naturvölker," Leipzig, 1880, contains views and opinions coinciding so strikingly with those expressed by me, that the reader could easily be led to believe that either I must have perused Professor Roskoff's work, or that he had corresponded with me. This, however, is not the case, and therefore this peculiar coincidence may serve as a striking evidence of what I say, towards the conclusion of the third chapter, about the *psychical identity of the human mind*. At the same time it is a great satisfaction and encouragement to find that one does not stand alone with his views, and that there are comrades and fellow-labourers in the battle-field, where one least expected them.

I desire to inscribe these leaves to the memory of the late Herr Geheimrath Hans Conon von der Gabelentz, and to Professor August Friedrich Pott, of Halle. These scholars will always be mentioned first in the history of

* Vide Theoph. Hahn, "Sprache der Nama," § 2, &c.

† The full manuscript was read over to my friends Profs. Walker and Marais of Stellenbosch.

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still at the time when Bartolomeo Diaz discovered the Cape, and when Governor Jan van Riebeeke hoisted the banner of the Netherlands at the foot of Table Mountain, below the old Khoikhoi kraal '||Hu-ǃgais. And such we find it still to be amongst the tribes of Great Namaqualand, and the remnants of the ǃKora and the so-called Cape Hottentots.

The orthography of the few specimens of the old Khoikhoi language of the Cape Colony, given by Witsen, Kolb, Valentyn, Ludolf, Leibniz, Thunberg, Spaarman, Le Vaillant, Barrow, Liechtenstein, Burchell, &c., is very much distorted, when compared with that of the excellent publications of Schmelen, Knudsen, Vollmer, and Tindall. Nevertheless, the language of the Khoikhoi tribes, such as the Kochoquas, Charigurunas, Hessaquas, Outeniquas, Attaquas, now swept from the face of the earth, and the present living idioms of the Namaquas, ǃGonaquas, ǀKhauas, ǃAmas, and ǃKoras, and few remnants of the Chrichriquas, the present Griquas, show the same structure, the same sex-denoting tendency, the same agglutinative peculiarity, the same decimal system of counting, and an equal abundance of abstract ideas and expressions well fitted to interpret the most sublime and sacred feelings of the human heart.

An unmerciful fate has overtaken the Khoikhoi; the most powerful tribes have been annihilated, and with them their traditions, sacred as well as profane. Those still extant have lost so much of their national peculiarities by contact with civilization, and have adopted such a number of Indo-European beliefs and customs; and the Christian ideas introduced by missionaries have amalgamated to such a degree with the national religious ideas and mythologies, that for this reason I have in the following pages preferred to give less than I could give, lest I should be accused that from a certain natural interest in, and sympathy with, the Khoikhoi, I had been carried away to assign to them a higher station in the

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of civilization in our colonies will be removed. Only a sound study and an unprejudiced knowledge of the native mind will qualify us to produce a sound and safe native policy.

We will learn to appreciate in the native what is good, and be anxious to bring the good qualities to a harmonious development. For his faults and vices our education and training will supply the necessary remedy. This would be the practical value of the study of Ethnology, under which heading I comprise the theoretical study of the South African languages, for the purpose of learning the prehistoric condition of the Aborigines, and their present natural condition, customs, manners, and religion.

When Bopp, Pott, and Grimm laid the foundation-stone of that glorious work, the Comparative Grammar and Comparative Mythology of the Aryan races, we should not forget that more than twenty centuries had contributed towards the bricks and mortar and tools with which that magnificent temple was erected. And here, in South Africa, what have we to boast of? Since Sir George Grey left our shores, and Dr. Bleek is not more amongst us, it almost seems that the work, so energetically commenced, is going to collapse. We cannot yet think of constructing such an edifice, which could stand a comparison with that grand temple erected by Bopp, before all the materials are prepared and their collection is secured. Our task, and that of the next generation, is to collect every possible and reliable material; and what already is collected should be thrown on the market, to be moulded and shaped into bricks. The linguistic and ethnological world, both of Europe and America, daily ask, *Quid novi ex Africa?* The foundation-stone is well laid, but where are the languages, the myths, and legends of those nations, of whom we had some dim idea, and whose existence has been confirmed by the discoveries of Cameron and Stanley? And in the most southern part

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114 of our continent—that is, British South Africa, a vast territory bordering in the north on the banks of the Kunene and Zambesi rivers—there lives a most unique race, represented in two peculiar branches of the Hottentot race, by the Khoikhoi and Bushman family. What may I ask, has been done to secure the necessary materials for a comparative study of their languages, mythologies, customs and manners? There are sundry translations of parts and extracts of the Bible, but more or less in one and the same Khoikhoi dialect. Twelve dialects, spoken in Great Namaqualand, are still unrecorded. The little we know of the ǃKora, which bears the most ancient type of the Khoikhoi, like Sanscrit among the Indo-European languages, is very insufficiently known, and this tribe is now on the point of dying out. Of the old Colonial Khoikhoi, the so-called Cape Hottentot, we know little or nothing. The few words recorded by Witsen, Ten Rhyne, Hervas, Kolb, Valentyn, Leibniz, Spaarmann, Thunberg, Barrow, Liechtenstein, and Le Vaillant, and few others, are written in such unintelligible and distorted orthography that they are useless for comparative purpose. Even the student who is well acquainted with a Hottentot dialect is hardly able to use these specimens with any success.

Four years ago a man of the tribe, to whom the Moravian missionary, George Schmidt, brought the Gospel, died at Bredasdrop; eight months ago, another old Cape Khoikhoi died at Moddergat, Stellenbosch district; another last year close to the Paarl; and six years ago one in Cape Town, who all spoke their old language.

The late Dr. Bleek therefore was misinformed when he stated that the old Cape type had entirely died out. There are at this moment some alive, *and it is of vital importance that our Government should grant* a small sum for the purpose of searching for such individuals, and collecting from their lips these long-forgotten dialects.